

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

INRE-00 USIE-00 CU-02 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 4516

INFO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY VALTETTA

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T GENEVA 5441

THIS MESSAGE HAS BEEN HAND CARRIED TO THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJ: CSCE: MALTA BLOCKS DECISION ON STAGE III DATE

REF: A) GENEVA 5384, (NOTAL)

1. VIRTUALLY ALL WORK STOPPED AT CSCE ON JULY 10 AS ATTENTION CONCENTRATED ON ATTEMPTS TO OVERCOME MALTESE OBJECTIONS TO THE CANADIAN PROPOSAL ON A DATE FOR STAGE III. AFTER SEVERAL HOURS OF HECTIC DISCUSSIONS, TENTATIVE AGREEMENT WAS REACHED WITH SPECIAL AMBASSADOR KINGSWELL ON TERMS FOR MALTESE ACCEPTANCE OF THE CANADIAN PROPOSAL. THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE (CC) REMAINED IN SUSPENSION WHILE KINGSWELL PHONED FOR INSTRUCTIONS FROM MINTOFF. BY EVENING MINTOFF HAD DEVELOPED A "FEVER" AND COULD NO LONGER COME TO THE PHONE. HE HAS PROMISED A REPLY BY 110 LOCAL TIME ON JULY 11. CC SCHEDULED TO MEET AGAIN AT 1200,

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JULY 11.

2. TEXT OF THE PACKAGE DEAL PRESENTED TO THE MALTESE IS AS FOLLOWS (TIMES REFER TO JULY 10): BEGIN TEXT

(1) THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF AN AGREED AND FINAL ADDITION TO THE EXISTING TEXT OF THE DOCUMENT ON THE MEDITERRANEAN:

QUOTE. IN ORDER TO ADVANCE TH OBJECTIVES SET FORTH ABOVE, THE PARTICIPATING STATES ALSO DECLARE THEIR INTENTION OF MAINTAINING AND AMPLIFYING THE CONTACTS AND DIALOGUE AS INITIATED BY THE CSCE WITH THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES TO INCLUDE ALL THE STATES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN, WITH THE PURPOSE OF CONTRIBUTING TO PEACE, STRENGTHENING SECURITY, LESSENING TENSIONS IN THE AREA, AND WIDENING THE SCOPE OF CO-OPERATION, ENDS IN WHICH ALL SHARE A COMMON INTEREST, AS WELL AS WITH THE PURPOSE OF DEFING FURTHER COMMON OBJECTIVES. THE PARTICIPATING STATES WOULD SEEK, IN THE FRAMEWRK OF THEIR MULTILATERAL EFFORTS, TO ENCOURGE PROGRESS AN APPROPRIATE INITIATIVES AND TO PROCEED TO AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE ATTAIGNMENT OF THE ABOVE PURPOSES. END QUOTE.

THE DOCUEMENT ON THE MEDITERRANEAN WILL ALSO CONTAIN AN AGREED AND EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS DECLARATION.

(2) THE TEXT ON THE FOLLOW UP TO THE CONFERENCE ENTERED IN THE NOTEBOOKS OF DELEGATIONS YESTERDAY WILL REMAIN UNCHANGED. IT WILL BE REGISTERED THIS EVENING BEFOR 7:30. P..

(3) SIMULTANEOUSLY AN ENTRY WILL BE MADE IN THE JOURNAL OF SUB-COMMITTEE A TO THE FFECT THAT THE SENTENCE ON RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS AS WELL AS TH AGREED NEW FIRST SENTENCE FOR PRINCIPE X IS NOW READ FOR REGISTRATION.

(4) THE TEXT OF THE CANADIAN PROPOSAL ON THE SETTING OF A DATE FOR PHASE III OF THE CONFERENCE WILL BE AGREED, WITHOUT AMENDMENT, THIS EVENING AT MEETING BEGINNING AT 7:30. P.. END TEXT.

3. AS EVENING OF JULY 10 DRAGGED ON AND IT BECAME APPARENT NO ANSWER COULD BE EXPECTED FROM MINTOFF UNTIL JULY 11, DELEGATIONS BEGAN SEARCHING FOR OTHER MEANS OF OVERCOMING THE IMPASSE. STRONGEST RACTION CAME FROM THE SOVIET DELEGATION CHIEF, WHO ARGUED THAT FORCEFUL STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN TO ASSURE THAT MINTOFF

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DID NOT WRECK THE CONFERENCE. SEVERAL NATO AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS DEMURRED, ARGUING THAT SAVING THE CONFERENCE WOULD NOT BE WORTH ANYTHING IF THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLE OF CONSENSUS WAS VIOLATED. THIS POINT WAS REENFORCED LATER IN NATO CONSULTATIONS, WHERE SEVERAL DELEGATIONS INCLUDING THE FRG AND UK, SPOKE AGAINST ACTING TOO AGGRESSIVELY TO ISOLATE THE MALTESE. ON THE SOVIET SIDE, THE ROMANIANS ARE PUTTING FORWARD SIMILAR CONSIDERATIONS.

4. ATTENTION AT THE MOMENT IS FOCUSED ON ACHIEVING AGREEMENT ON THE DRAFT PAPER IN PARA 2 ABOVE. IF MINTOFF ASKES FOR CHANGES WHICH ARE NEGOTIABLE, MOST DELEGATIONS WILL PROBABLY JUMP AT THEM. IF HIS DEMANDS ARE CLEARLY UNACCETABLE ALTRNATIVE MEANS OF BREAKING THE DEADLOCK WILL PROBABLY BE TRIED.

5. A FIRST STEP WAS TAKEN AT THE CC MEETING IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS OF JULY 11, WHEN 29 DELEGATIONS TOOK THE FLOOR VOLUNTARILY TO EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR THE CANADIAN PROPOSAL. THE PURPOSE OF THIS COORDINATED EFFORT WAS TO GIVE STRONG INDICATIONS TO THE FINNS THAT VIRTUALLY ALL DELEGATIONS, EXCEPT THE MALTESE, WISED TO SEE STAGE III TAKE PLACE ON JULY 30. OF THOSE PRESENT, ONLY THE SWISS AND ROM-ANIAN (AND MALTESE) DELEGATIONS DID NOT TAKE THE FLOOR. THE FINNS NEED SUCH PUBLIC SUPPORT IN ORDER TO JUSTIFY WORK ON STAGE III WHICH HAS ALREADY BEGUN.

6 OTHER OPTIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION ARE:

A. HIGH LEVEL MESSAGES TO MINTOFF.

B. BILATERAL ASSURANCES TO THE FINNS THAT INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS WILL HELP ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE COSTS OF STAGE II IF IT IS NOT HELD ON JULY 30.

C. A "CLOSED ROOM" MEETING IN WHICH EVERYONE EXCEPT MALTA WOULD MEET IN PRIVATE CAUCUS AND GIVE APPROVAL TO THE CANADIAN PROPOSAL. WORK ON SUBSTANTIVE TOPICS WOULD CONTINUE UNTIL JLY 15 AT WHICH TIME THE "PRIVATE" DECISION TO HOLD STAGE III ON JULY 30 WOULD BE CONFIRMED. THE MALTESE WOULD BE PRESENTED WITH THE ALTERNATIVE OF ACCEPTING OR OF NOT GOING TO HELSINKI.

D. LETTING THE DATE OF STAGE II SLIP PAST JLY 30.

SOME DELEGATIONS ARGUE THAT ONLY WHEN MINTOFF SEES THAT
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OTHER PARTICIPANTS ARE WILLING TO POSTPONE STAGE III WILL HE UNDERSTAND THAT HIS PRESSURE TACTICS CANNOT SUCCEED.

7. AT THE MOMENT THER IS NO CONSENSUS ON ANY OF THE ABOVE OPTIONS. THE SOVIETS ARE PUSHING HARD FOR OPTION B, BUT THERE IS STRONG OPPOSITION TO SUCH A STEP ON THE PART OF MANY NATO AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS. SOME SAY IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO MAKE SUCH A BILATERAL FINANCIAL COMMITMENT. OTHERS ARGUE THAT SUCH AN OFFICIAL STEP WOULD BE A BLANTANT AND UNACCEPTABLE VIOLATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENSUS. OPTION B IS MORE ACCEPTABLE TO THIS LATTER GROUP BECUASE IT WOULD BE A LESS OFFICIAL VIOLATION OF CONSENSUS. THE SOVIET DELEGATION WOULD CLEARLY NOT ACCEPT OPTION D, AT LEAST IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

8. IF IT PROVES IMPOSSIBLE TO NEGOTIATE WITH MINTOFF,
PRESSURE FOR "DOING SOMETHING" ABOUT THE DEADLOCK WILL
INCREASE. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES ,CONSENSUS IN FAVOR
OF ONE OR THE OTHER OPTIONS WILL PROBABLY DEVELOP FAIRLY
RAPIDLY. WE ARE REMAINING IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH NATO
DELEGATIONS, AND IN THE FIRST INSTANCE WILL ASSOCIATE
OURSELVES WITH THE ALLIED CONSENSUS AS IT DEVELOPS.

9. AMBASSADOR SHERER IS INFORMING THE SECRETARY ON THE
CURRENT SITUATION ALONG THE ABOVE LINES. DALE

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NNN

Message Attributes

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